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# Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----------131320Z 100023 /43
O 131231Z MAY 77 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN NIACT IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7352

S E C R E T MOSCOW 6636

EXDIS

TEHRAN FOR THE SECRETARY FROM TOON

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR UR US
SUBJECT: GROMYKO COMMENTS ON SALT AND MIDDLE EAST

REF: MOSCOW 6635

1. AFTER OUR DISCUSSIONOF GENEVA SCHEDULE (REFTEL), TONGUE IN CHEEK I ASKED GROMYKO WHAT HE PLANNED TO SAY TO YOU DURING THE TALKS. FOLLOWING IS MY UNDERSTANDING OF HIS RAMBLING RESPONSE GIVEN PARTLY IN RUSSIAN AND PARTLY IN ENGLISH - LATTER NOT COMPLETELY INTELLIGBLE AT ALL TIMES.

2. ON SALT HE SAID SOVIET SIDE HAS OUTLINED ITS POSITION IN RECENT WASHINGTON TALKS. SOVIETS ARE CONSIDERING COERTAIN US SUGGESTIONS BUT IF US POSITION REMAINS FAR FROM VLADIVOSTOK FOUNDATIO "THEN AN EMPTINESS WILL REMAIN." I TOLD GROMYKO THAT IT WAS OUR INTENTION TO BUILD ON VLADIVOSTOK.

3. ON MIDDLE EAST I ASKED WHETHER IN HIS TALKS WITH ARAFAT AND OTHERS
,
HE HAD REALLY DETECTED A MORE MODERATE PLO ATTITUDE. HE REPLIED IT SEEMED SO, ALTHOUGH PLO WAS NOT READY
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TO STATE PUBLICILY, OFFICIALLY OR PLAINLY, A WILLINGENESS TORECOGNIZE EXISTENSE OF ISRAEL. YET "OUR GENERAL IMPRESSION IS THAT THE PALESTINIANS ARE MILDER." REMARKING THAT "A GREAT DEAL DEPENDS ON OTHERS," GROMYKO ASKED WHETHR I COULD TELL HIM WHAT ASSAD SAID TO PRESIDENT CARTER ON THIS ISSUE FOR THE SOVIETS HAD STILL NOT RECEIVED A

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RELIABLE REPORT. I SAID IT WAS MY IMPRESSION
THAT THE SYRIANS HAD SAID THE DECISION WAS UP
TO THE PLO. HE SAID HE HOPED SYRIANS HAD SAID
"A LITTLE BIT MORE", I.E., ON POSSIBILITY OF
SIMULTANEOUS PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI MUTUAL RECOGNI-
TION "BUT I'M AFRAID THEY DIDN'T SAY IT."

4. WHE I ASKED WHETHER THE SOVIETS HAD RECOMMENDED
THIS COURSE TO SYRIANS GROMYKO REPLIED, YES, HE
HAD RECOMMENDED IT TO SYRIANS, PLO AND EGYPTIANS.
ASSAD HAD TOLD SOVIETS HE WOULD APPROACH THE ISSUE
"WITH UNDERSTANDING" BUT HE WOULD NOT SAY YES OR
NO. (GROMYKO COMMENTED "THIS IS SOMETIMES THE
TROUBLE WITH THE ARABS".) MOSCOW HAD ALWAYS
SUPPORTED RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL AND GROMYKO WAS
CONVINCED THAT IF A SIMULTANEOURS MUTUAL
RECOGNITION OF PALESTINIAN STATE AND ISRAEL COULD
BE RESOLVED ("AND, IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING, THE
TERRITORIAL QUESTION") THEN "EVERYTHING ELSE"
(E.G. CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES) WOULD FALL IN
LINE. HE HAD NO DOUBT THAT A PROCEDURAL FORMULA
COULD BE WORKED OUT FOR SIMULTANEOUS MUTUAL
RECOGNITION. THERE WERE MANY WAYS TO SOLVE THIS,
E.G., BY SIGNING A COMMON TEXT OR BY HAVING THE
PLO EMPOWER SOMEONE ELSE TO DECLARE OFFICIALLY
RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL ON PALESTINIANS'
BEHALF AND THE ISRAELIS DO THE SAME CONCERNING PALESTINIANS'
RIGHT TO HOMELAND. "FRANKLY, THIS PROCEDURAL QUESTION HAS
BEEN MAGNIFIED A MILLION TIMES TO THE SIZE OF A
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MOUNTAIN. YOU AND WE MUST GIVE OUR WORD TO ENSURE
THAT IT IS GIVEN THE RIGHT PROPORTIONS."

5. GROMYKO ASKED "WHY DOES ISREAL LOSE THIS CHANCE?
IT IS ONE THING OUR LEADERSHIP CANNOT UNDERSTAND-
THEY CAN THEN BE RECOGNIZED BY THE WHOLE WORLD."

6. WHEN I ASKED WHAT WERE THE PROSPECTS OFMOSCOW
REESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL,
GROMYKO SAID THIS WAS A SEPARATE PROBLEM. FIRST
PROBLEM WAS MIDDLE EASTERN SETTLEMENT AT GENEVA.
IN THIS CONNECTION HE CITED NEED FOR ISRAEL TO
RECOGNIZE "SMALL" PALESTINIAN STATE, AND RECOGNIZE
PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION AT GENEVA EITHER AS
PART OF ONE ARAB DELEGATION OR AS SEPARATE DELE-
GATION BUT "EQUAL, EQUAL, EQUAL." IF ISRAEL
GAVE "A GOOD SIGN OF MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION
THEN THIS MATTER (SOVIET-ISRAEL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS)
WOULD BE PUT ON REALISTIC RAILS. WE ARE NOT THE

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ENEMY OF ISRAEL. WE WOULD BE ONE OF HER STRONGEST GUARANTORS." GROMYKO SAID HE HAD MADE THIS CLEAR TO ALLON AND EBAN WHEN THEY HAD APPROACHED HIM ON SEPARATE OCCASIONS (DURING UN SESSIONS) TO DISCUSS "RECOGNITION AND OTHER MATTERS."
TOON

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# Message Attributes

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**Secure:** OPEN
**Status:** NATIVE
**Subject:** GROMYKO COMMENTS ON SALT AND MIDDLE EAST
**TAGS:** PFOR, UR, US, XF, (GROMYKO, ANDREY ANDREYEVICH)
**To:** TEHRAN STATE
**Type:** TE
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